

Excerpts from the text of an address prepared for delivery by The Right Honorable Winston Churchill, M.P., at Westminister College, Fulton, Missouri, Tuesday, March 5, 1946

"I now come to the second danger which threatens the cottage home and ordinary people, namely Tyranny. We cannot be blind to the fact that the liberties enjoyed by individual citizens throughout the United States and the British Empire are not valid in a considerable number of countries, some of which are very powerful. In these States, control is enforced upon the common people by various kinds of all-embracing police governments, to a degree which is overwhelming and contrary to every principle of democracy. The power of the State is exercised without restraint, either by dictators or by compact oligarchies operating through a privileged party and a political police. It is not our duty at this time, when difficulties are so numerous to interfere forcibly in the internal affairs of countries whom we have not conquered in war. But we must never cease to proclaim in fearless tones the great principles of freedom and the rights of man, which are the joint inheritance of the English-speaking world and which, through Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, Trial by Jury and the English Common Law, find their most famous expression in the Declaration of Independence.

"A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied Victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist International organization intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits if any to their expansive and proselytizing tendencies. I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin. There is sympathy and goodwill in Britain - and I doubt not here also - towards the peoples of all the Russias and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friendships. We understand the Russian need to be secure on her Western frontiers from all renewal of German aggression. We welcome her to her rightful place among the leading nations of the world. Above all we welcome constant, frequent and growing contacts between the Russian people and our own people on both sides of the Atlantic. It is my duty, however, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe.

"From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in the Soviet sphere and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow. Athens alone, with its immortal glories, is free to decide its future at an election under British, American and French observation. The Russian-dominated Polish Government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful inroads upon Germany, and mass expulsions of millions of Germans on a scale grievous and undreamed-of are now taking place. The Communist parties, which were very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control.

Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case, and so far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy. Turkey and Persia are both profoundly alarmed and disturbed at the claims which are made upon them and at the pressure being exerted by the Moscow Government. An attempt is being made by the Russians in Berlin to build up a quasi-Communist party in their zone of Occupied Germany by showing special favors to groups of left-wing German leaders. At the end of the fighting last June, the American and British Armies withdrew Westwards, in accordance with an earlier agreement, to a depth at some points of 150 miles on a front of nearly 400 miles to allow the Russians to occupy this vast expanse of territory which the Western Democracies had conquered. If now the Soviet Government tries, by separate action, to build up a pre-Communist Germany in their areas, this will cause new serious difficulties in the British and American zones, and will give the defeated Germans the power of putting themselves up to auction between the Soviets and the Western Democracies. "whatever conclusions may be drawn from these facts - and facts they are - this is certainly not the Liberated Europe we fought to build up. Nor is it one which contains the essentials of permanent peace.

"In front of the iron curtain which lies across Europe are other causes for anxiety. In Italy the Communist party is seriously hampered by having to support the Communist-trained Marshal Tito's claims to former Italian territory at the head of the Adriatic. Nevertheless the future of Italy hangs in the balance. Again one cannot imagine a regenerated Europe without a strong France. All my public life I have worked for a strong France and I never lost faith in her destiny, even in the darkest hours. I will not lose faith now. However, in a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, Communist fifth columns are established and work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the Communist centre. Except in the British Commonwealth and in the United States, where Communism is in its infancy, the Communist parties or fifth columns constitute a growing challenge and peril to Christian civilization. These are sombre facts for anyone to have to recite on the morrow of a victory gained by so much splendid comradeship in arms and in the cause of freedom and democracy, and we should be most unwise not to face them squarely while time remains.

"The outlook is also anxious in the Far East and especially in Manchuria. The Agreement which was made at Yalta, to which I was a party, was extremely favorable to Soviet Russia, but it was made at a time when no one could say that the German war might not extend all through the summer and autumn of 1945 and when the Japanese war was expected to last for a further eighteen months from when the Japanese war was expected to last for a further eighteen months from the end of the German war. In this country you are all so well-informed about the Far East, and such devoted friends of China, that I do not need to expatiate on the situation there.

"I have felt bound to portray the shadow which, alike in the west and in the east, falls upon the world. I was a Minister at the time of the Versailles Treaty and a close friend of Mr. Lloyd George. I did not myself agree with many things that were done, but I have a very strong impression in my mind of that situation, and I find it painful to contrast it with that which prevails now.

In those days there were high hopes and unbounded confidence that the wars were over, and that the League of Nations would become all-powerful. I do not see or feel the same confidence or even the same hopes in the haggard world at this time.

"On the other hand I repulse the idea that a new war is inevitable; still more that it is imminent. It is because I am sure that our fortunes are in our own hands and that we hold the power to save the future, that I feel the duty to speak out now that I have an occasion to do so, I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines. But what we have to consider here to-day while time remains, is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries. Our difficulties and dangers will not be removed by closing our eyes to them. They will not be removed by mere waiting to see what happens; nor will they be relieved by a policy of appeasement. What is needed is a settlement, and the longer this is delayed, the more difficult it will be and the greater our dangers will become. From what I have seen of our Russian friends and Allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for military weakness. For that reason the old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound. We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins, offering temptations to a trial of strength. If the Western Democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter, their influence for furthering those principles will be immense and no one is likely to molest them. If however they become divided or falter in their duty, and if these all-important years are allowed to slip away, then indeed catastrophe may overwhelm us all.

"Last time I saw it all coming and cried aloud to my own fellow-countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up till the year 1933 or even 1935, Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose upon mankind. There never was a war in all history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just desolated such great areas of the globe. It could have been prevented without the firing of a single shot, and Germany might be powerful, prosperous and honored today, but no one would listen and one by one we were all sucked into the awful whirlpool. We surely must not let that happen again.

辯護文書第一六六九號

一九四六年昭和二十一年三月五日火曜日、ミスリー洲  
フルトンウエストミンスター大學ニ於ケル議員ウインス  
トンチャーゲル演説草稿抜萃

私ハサテ、農家及一般市民ヲ脅ス第二ノ危険即厥致ニツイテ述べマセウ  
吾々米合衆國及英帝國全土ニ亘ツテ國民各個人ニ附與サレテキル自由ガ  
大強國も含ム多數ノ國家ニ於テ確立シテキナイト云フ事實ニ盲目デアル  
コトハ出來マセン。此等ノ國家ニ於テハ厥倒的ニ且ツ民主主義ノ凡ル原  
理ニ相反スル程度迄各種各様ノ總括的ナ警察政權ニヨツテ統整ガ一般民  
衆ノ上ニ强行サレテキルノデアリマス。國家權力ハ特權的政黨トカ政治  
警察ヲ通ジテ獨裁者カ、鞏固ナ小數者ノ群カニヨツテ無制限ニ行使サレ  
テキルノデアリマス。困難ノ多イ現在ニ於テ吾々ガ戰爭デ征服シタノデ  
モナイ國家ノ内政ニ強引ニ關渉スルコトハ吾々ノ義務デハアリマセん。  
然シ、吾々ハ断呼トシテ人間ノ自由ト権利ノ大原則ヲ主張スルコトヲ止  
メテハナリマセん。ソレハ英語ヲ話ス國民ノ共同遺産デアリ又、大憲章、  
人權條令、人身解放令、陪審裁判及英國不文法ヲ經テ獨立宣言ノ中ニソノ

最モ有名ナ宣言ヲ見タトコロノモノデアリマス。

聯合國ノ勝利ニヨツテ光明ヲ點ゼラレタ許リノ地上ニ暗影ガ落チカカリマシタ。ソビエトロシヤトソノ共産黨國際組織ガ何ヲタクランデキルカ？又ソノ廣範且宣傳的ナ傾向ニ若シ限界アリトセバ奈邊カ？ハ何人ニモ不明デアリマス。私ハ勇敢ナロシヤ國民及私ノ戰友スター・リン元帥ニ對シテハ強イ讚賞ト敬意ヲ抱イテ居リマス。英國ニ於テハリー恐ク此處ニ於テモ左様ト私ハ思ヒマスガ一全露國國民ニ對シテ同情ト好意ガアリ又永續的ナ友好關係樹立ノタメニ多大ノ不一致不和ヲ耐ヘ忍バウトスル決意ガアリマス。ソノ西部國境ニ於テ凡ルドイツノ侵略ノ繰返シヲ防グ、ロシアノ必要性ヲ吾々ハ理解シテ居リマス。吾々ハ世界ノ指導的國家ノ間ノソノ正當ナル地位ニロシアヲ喜ンデ迎ヘルモノデアリマス。就中吾々ハ大西洋ノ兩側ニ於テ兩國民ノ不斷ノ屢々接觸ヲ歓迎シマス。然シ乍ラヨーロッパニ於ケル現在ノ狀勢ニツイテ若干ノ事實ヲ諸兄ニ語ルコトハ私ノ義務デアリマス。バルナック海ノステツテインカラアドリア海ノトリエストニ到ル迄大陸ヲ横断シテツノ鐵ノ幕ガ降ロサレタノデアリマス。ソノ線ノ背后ニ中央及東部ヨーロ

ツバノ古イ國々ノ凡ル首都ガアリマス。

ワルソーベルリン、ブラーク、ウインナ、ブタベスト、ベルグラード、ブルエスト、ソフィア、凡テノ此等ノ有名ナ都市及住民ハソビエト圏内ニアリ。何レモ何等カノ形ニ於テ、ソビエトノ勢力下ニアルノミナラズ、モスクワ一カラノ非常ニ高度ナ且増大シツツアル統制ニ限シテキルノテアリマス。アテナノミガソノ不死ノ榮光ト共ニ英國、米國、佛國ノ監督下ニ選舉ヲ行ツテ自由ニゾノ將來ヲ決定出來ルノテアリマス。

ロシアノ支配下ニアルボーランド政府ハ太仕掛ナ誤ツタトイツ侵略ヲ煽勵サレテ居リ、悲惨ナ想像モツカヌ數百万ドイツ人ノ追放ガ現在行ハレテキルノデアリマス。ヨーロツバノ線テノ此等東部國家ニ於テ非常ニ小敷デアツタ、共産黨ハソノ數ヲ遙カニ凌駕シタ、優位置及權力ニ引キ上ゲラレ何處ニ於テモ全體主義的統制ヲ獲得セントヲ狙ツテキルノテアリマス。

看來政府は殆んど凡ゆる場合に行き渡つて居り、今日迄のところテニ  
コスローヴアキアトの外には眞の民主主義はない。トルコ及ヘルシヤは天  
にセスコ一政府による要求や威迫に對して極度に懲惧を來たし混亂に陥  
つてゐる。在ベルリンのロシア人は左翼者等の中に特別の  
恩恵を示すことに依りソ連占領地の獨逸に華共産黨を作り上げ競と企  
用しつつある。昨年六月義河海船に水兵軍はそれまでの協定に基き、國  
言語近くのい娘に至り若干の箇所では一五〇哩も西方へ撤放し、西方  
主主は山が征服せる度に度々領地をロシア人の占領に委ねたの  
である。今ソ聯政府が獨逸の行動に依り彼等の占領地内に華共產黨  
を打撃てんと試みるならば、これは英米地域内に甚大な障壁を惹起し既  
に高く更付けるかと云ふ方を以へることとなる。これ等の點から如何  
なる結果が引出され候とも

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氏の親友であつた。私自身は実行された多くの事柄に困惑しなかつたが、當時の情勢については非常に深い印象を受けて居り現在の情勢と對照して私の心を痛めるものがある。

その頃人々は戦争がすっかり終り、国際連盟は絶對的な力を持つに至るであ  
らうといふ非常な期待と無限の確信を持つてゐた、私は現在この荒廃した世  
界の中に右と同じやうな確信、又は單なる期待さへを見たり感したりするこ  
とはないのである

「その生面、私は新しい戦争が必ずおこるといふ考へには反対する、まし  
てその戦争は近いうちにあるだらうといふ考へには一層強く反対する、何故な  
らば、私は、私達の運命は私達の手中にあり私達が將來ヲ救ふかを壇つて  
ゐるのだと確信するからである。私はこゝに機會を與へられたので、私は「ソ  
シ演」が戦争をしたがつてゐるとは思はぬと云ふことを断言する義務があるよ  
うに感しる。彼等の望んでゐるものは此の度の戦争の利得であり彼等の力と  
主義の無限の擴大である。私達が今日この席上で適當つて考へねばならぬこ  
とは戦争の永久的防止とすべくの國に出來だけ早く自由と民主主義の狀態を  
建設することである、私達が目を閉じても困難や危険は去らない。

困難や危機はただ何が起るかじつと見て待つてゐるのみでは済かれない。又單なる緩和政策によつても除去され又、必要なものは解決でありそれが遅れば遅れる難困難になり危機は大きくなるであらう。争中ロシヤ人真の也の會の人々から私の事んだところにより、彼等が「力」以上感服するものはなく又單なる弱小なる種族をもつてゐることは私には明白に分つた。故に昔の「力均衡主義は不合せである。私はもし壓迫されるならば差の殆どない土臺の上で真剣に争力するには行かぬ。これ常に各國に力試しの誘惑を提供するのである。もし西洋の民主々義者等が一貫して國際連合憲章の諸原則を廃守するならば、それら民主々義國家ハ憲章の主導助長のために莫大な貢献をなし誰にも邪魔されることはないであらう。けれども征等が仲間割れをしたりその任務を行ふに當り逡巡したりすることがあれば又もしこの最も重要な数年の対策を逸したりすれば、それこそ我々にとつて大きな災難となるであらう。

この前私が斯くの如き状勢の來ることを豫見し、我が國人と世界に對して呼びかけた時誰も私の聲を聞く者はなかつた。一九三三年か又は一九三五年頃迄さへ獨逸が陥つた恐るべき運命から救はれ得る可能性があつたのであり、さうすれば私達は「ヒットラー」か人類の上にもたらしこの不幸から免がれ得たであらう。地球のこれ程の廣い地域を荒廢せしめた今の大戦時を得た行動によつて容易に助ぐことが出来た戦争は歴史上曾てないのである。この戦争は一發も發砲せずして防止出來たのであらう。獨逸は今日強力な繁榮した名譽ある國家であり得たであらうしかし誰も耳を傾けなかつた。そして私達は順々にすべてが恐ろしい渦卷の中に巻込まれてしまつたのである。私達は決してこの事を再發せしめてはならない。